

THE QUARTO

NO. 27

THE CLEMENTS LIBRARY ASSOCIATES

SPRING-SUMMER 2007

THE OLD NORTHWEST

For anyone interested in the Great Lakes frontier or the Ohio Valley from the period of the French and Indian War through the War of 1812, the Clements Library is a "must" stop for research. If you are interested in Pontiac's War or Native American history in the era of the Revolution, you need to work in the Amherst and Gage Papers, study the James Sterling Letterbook, or read the Jehu Hay diary.

Or perhaps you want to know more about the conflicts with the British and Indians from the 1780s to 1820? Any thorough scholar will come to Ann Arbor and consult the Josiah Harmar or Anthony Wayne Papers, the Native American Collection, Fort Wayne Indian Agency Letterbook, the Cass Papers, and other collections besides. The Library's map resources for the region are also exceptional.

This issue of the *Quarto* includes a description of John Fitch's *A Map of the north west parts of the United States of America* (1785) recently acquired by the Library. Its acquisition is a very exciting event for us. This issue highlights, as well, other items relating to the same geographical area: the marvelous Edward Walsh watercolors of the borderlands between the United States and British North America that the Clements

Library is now reproducing in limited quantities and the John Porteous Letterbook, kept at Detroit and Michilimackinac in 1767-69, recently acquired with generous support from

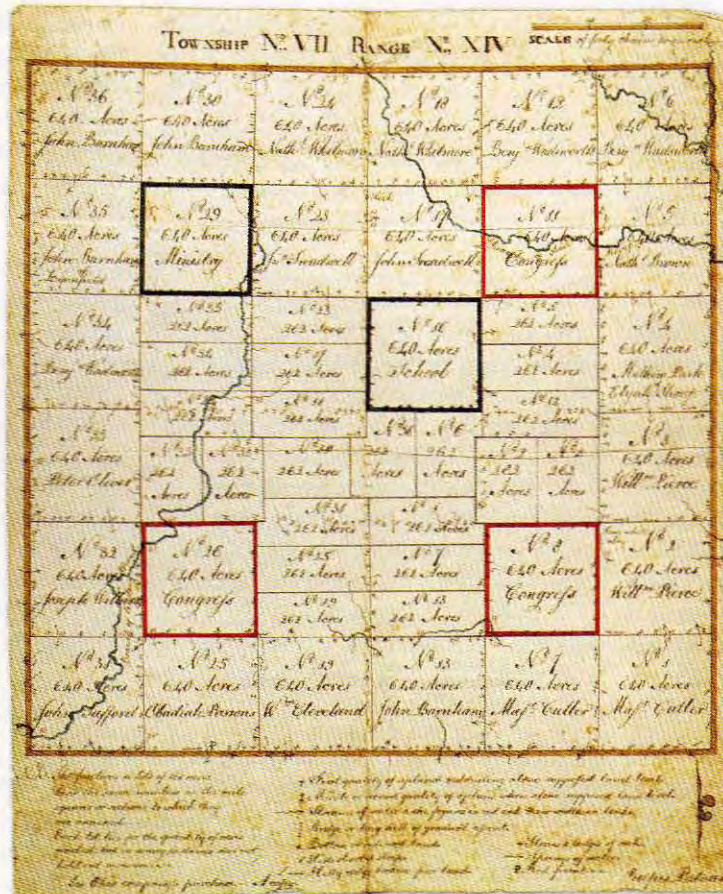
Library Director had been eyeing it, covetously, for two decades, until it became available at auction.

Probably *because* he was a Midwesterner, or because his father was

British, not American, William L. Clements had little interest in the region's history. The periods of European exploration and discovery were what got him excited. He was interested in the earliest colonial settlements, the European-centered wars for empire, and the American Revolution on the eastern seaboard but not much interested in the territory west of the Hudson or Susquehanna Rivers. In creating his Library, Clements felt that he was bringing the history and the refinements of the East and Europe to a Midwest that was still a bit wet behind the ears! In 1923, when feeling the financial pressures of building and furnishing the collection, he even sold the "western" portion of his collection, including a superb copy of Filson's *Kentuckie* (1784) with its map, Zenas Leonard's highly prized account of his journey to the Pacific (1839), and a superb

collection of Indian captivity narratives.

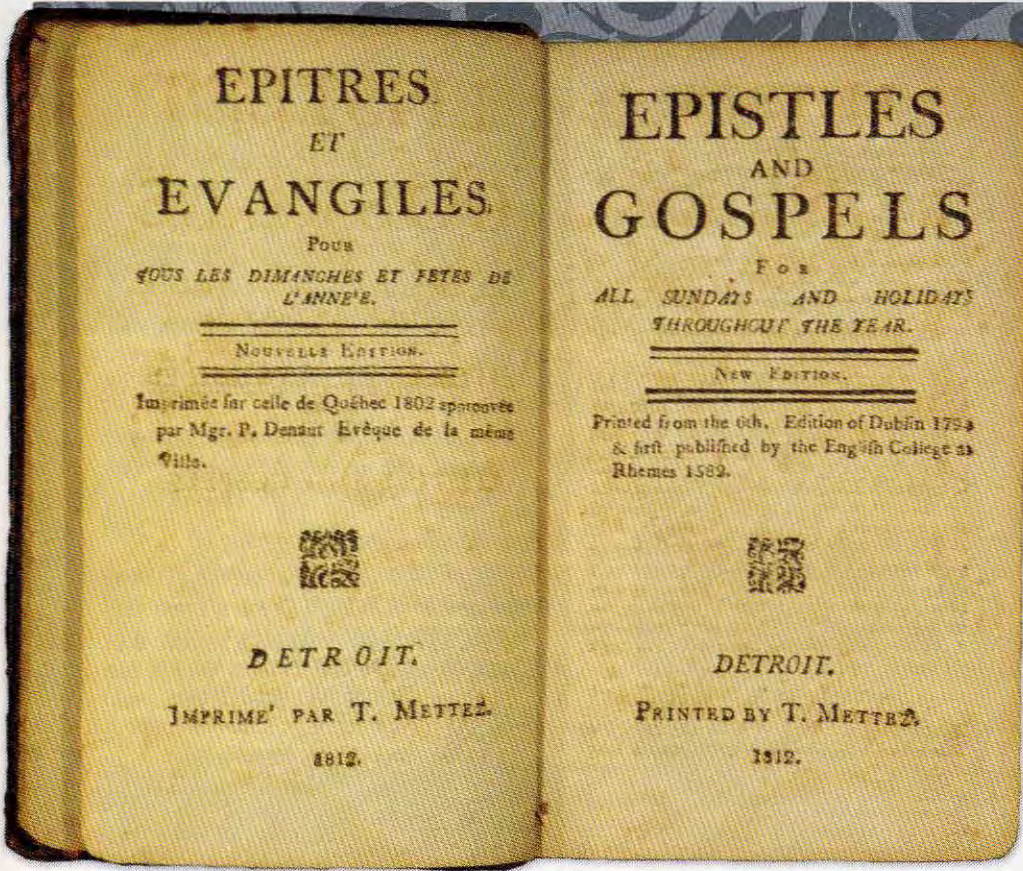
Randolph Adams, the Library's first Director, was a Philadelphian, and perhaps because of that fact he found the history of the frontier romantic and exciting. Collecting interests



Perhaps no human alteration has had a more profound impact on the landscape of the Old Northwest than the pattern of surveying imposed by the Land Ordinance of 1785. It divided the region into six-mile-square townships, each of thirty-six numbered sections of 640 acres. Rufus Putnam surveyed this township in Meigs County, Ohio, about 1787, highlighting the sections reserved for public benefit.

Elizabeth Erwin of Birmingham, Michigan, and Janet Mueller of Le Sueur, Minnesota. This manuscript volume was from the personal collection of William Guthman, a longtime friend of the Clements Library, and the present



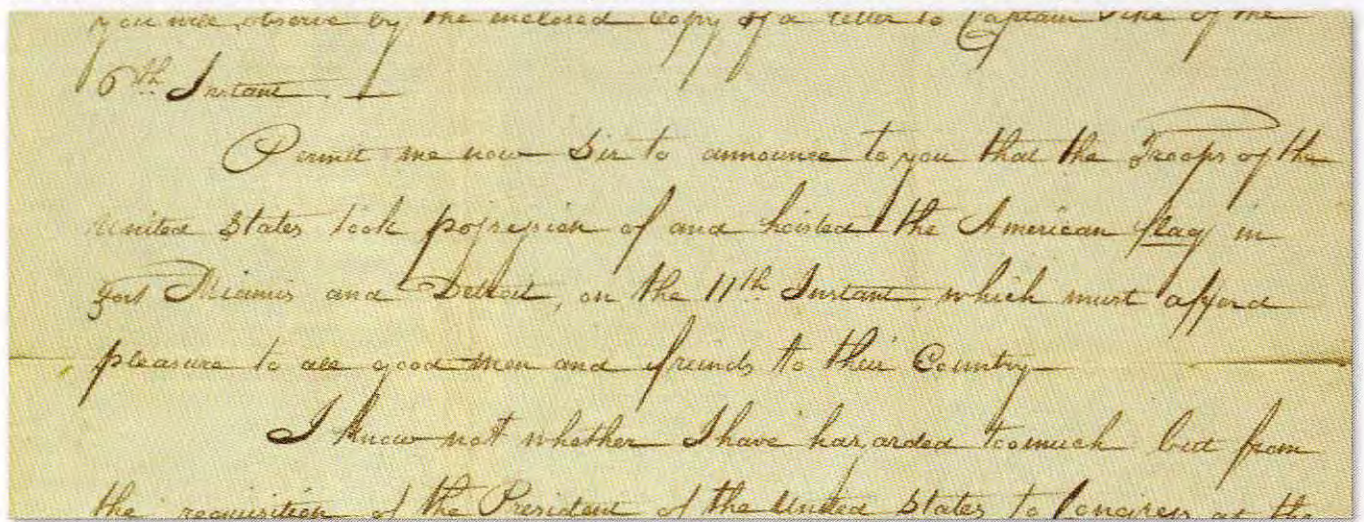


The twin title pages of Epistles and Gospels for all Sundays and Holidays Throughout the Year, printed on Father Gabriel Richard's press in 1812, reflected the influence of Detroit's majority francophone community.

were changing anyway in the post-Depression era, with American imprints, western history, and things authentically American on the ascendancy and European Americana in decline. Most of the bibliographical spadework had been completed for the earlier era, while the American west was a wide-open field of new discoveries and scholarship. The Shelburne and Gage Papers were not simply records of the American Revolution but were full of new, unexplored source material on western expansion in the late colonial period,

Native American history, and frontier diplomacy between Britain, the United States, and their native allies, often negotiated at the point of a gun! Adams understood that these collections provided a firm foundation of unique materials. By appreciating such an area of potential strength and then building upon it with careful, sustained collecting, he correctly anticipated that the Clements would eventually have another "specialty" that would attract the world's top scholars and support "cutting edge" scholarship.

On July 23, 1796, General Anthony Wayne reported to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering that U.S. troops had received Forts Miamis and Detroit from their British garrisons. British forces completed their withdrawal from the Old Northwest posts in September.



The Old Northwest therefore became, in the 1930s, the Library's first area of expansion beyond the interests of Clements himself. Adams could make it his own field of collecting success. The accession books of all of the Library's divisions document this new focus. Shortly before Clements's death in 1934, the Library acquired a group of Robert Rogers's family letters that Kenneth Roberts, an enthusiastic Clements Library research visitor, would find invaluable in writing *Northwest Passage*. In 1936 Adams purchased a 1764 manuscript map of Detroit by John Montresor and a unique 1799 manuscript map of Fort Lernoult and the town of Detroit. The same year he tracked down and acquired the Jehu Hay diary of Pontiac's War from noted Philadelphia collector Boise Penrose. He was particularly proud, in 1938, to secure Anthony Wayne's letter announcing the raising of the American flag at Detroit in 1796, and, a year later, he not only got the papers of frontier military commander Josiah Harmar from his descendants but the Walsh sketchbook, with its unique views of Detroit, Toronto, and the military fortifications along the Canadian border.

The acquisition of the Fitch map and the Porteous Letterbook are simply steps in a long and continuing tradition—a tradition of identifying historical areas where the Clements Library can become an important center of research and persistently working to accomplish the goal. It is an ongoing process.

— John C. Dann
Director

A MATTER OF GREAT INTEREST TO CARTOGRAPHERS

There is not much wall space in the Map Division office, and what there is of it is decorated with the odd picture and a few reminders of things that need to be done. Among the latter is a single, typed sheet of paper entitled "Collection Development—Map Division." This list of twenty-seven items, most of them American maps dating from the 1780s through 1823, was compiled by former Curator of Maps David Bosse in 1994 and revised by the current curator two years later. Its introductory statement notes that the titles on the list are all items that the Library should "strive to obtain." This is followed by a caveat that many of them are "virtually unobtainable."

What a pleasure it is to report that one of these prize maps has been checked off the list and is now a part of the collections of the Clements Library. John Fitch's *A Map of the north west parts of the United States of America* of 1785 was probably the most desirable of them all. It has long been considered among the rarest of American maps, and it is the first to focus on the "Old Northwest," the immense tract of land north of the Ohio River laid out as the Northwest Territory and eventually carved into six states. In 1969, when J. Clements Wheat and Christian F. Brun produced their *Maps and Charts Published in America Before 1800*, they could identify only five institutions holding copies of Fitch's map. This count represented six individual

examples, and a few others were known to be in private collections. Today, we estimate that perhaps eight to ten exam-

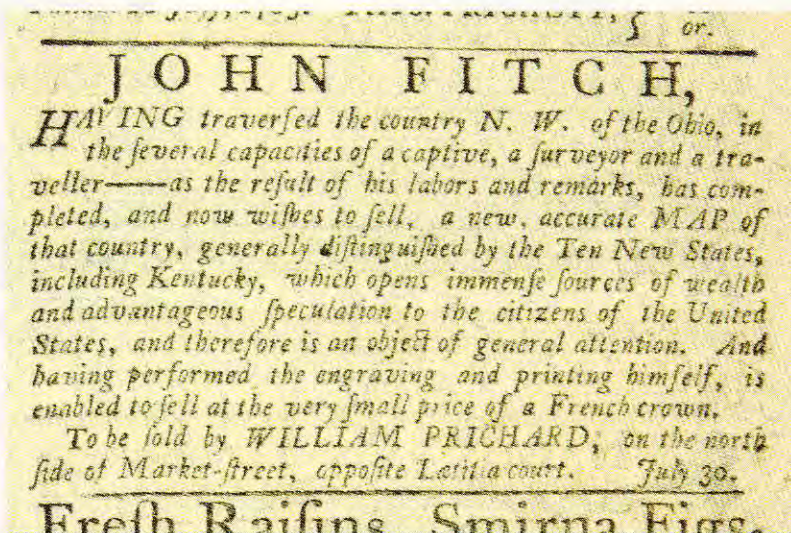
from the Clements Library Associates in recognition of John's long and distinguished service. As one of the most sought-after American maps, its purchase is a particularly appropriate way to honor a consummate collector who has devoted his career to improving the marvelous holdings of the Library. We are proud to announce that gifts from Associates have fully paid for the purchase of the Fitch map, well in advance of the events and ceremonies marking John's retirement.

Clements Library Associates have seen the colorful mailing piece that requested support for acquiring the Fitch map. In it, John Dann summarized the fascinating, yet tragic, career of the man who was its cartographer, engraver, and publisher. John Fitch (1743–98) was a genius who could never quite seize the success that should have rewarded his talents and efforts. Dabbling in a variety of trades earlier in his life, Fitch is best remembered for designing and successfully testing steamboats in the late 1780s and 1790s. Even then, true fame eluded him, and credit for the first commercial, steam-powered vessel went to Robert Fulton. Perpetually strapped for cash, John Fitch's venture into cartography was intended to raise capital to support the development of his self-propelled vessels.

Fitch had the credentials to produce a creditable map of the northwestern lands identified for settlement by the Continental Congress in 1784. He had



Three prehistoric Native American mound complexes in southeastern Ohio are identified by squares inked onto the Clements Library copy of Fitch's map.



John Fitch's advertisement for his map ran in Philadelphia newspapers in July 1785.

ples survive. Clearly, as P. Lee Phillips wrote in 1916, "when a copy of Fitch's map is discovered, it becomes a matter of great interest to cartographers."

Acquiring Fitch's map of the Old Northwest has been a goal from the earliest days of the Clements Library. It now comes to us at an interesting time, as John Dann, director for thirty years, is poised to retire. The map is a gift

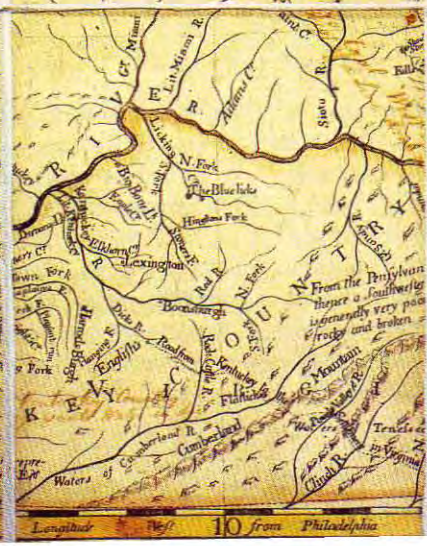
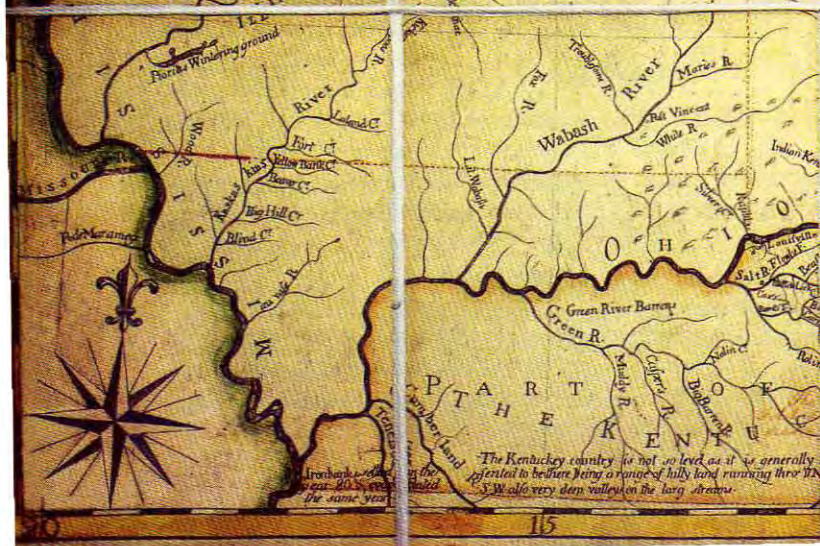
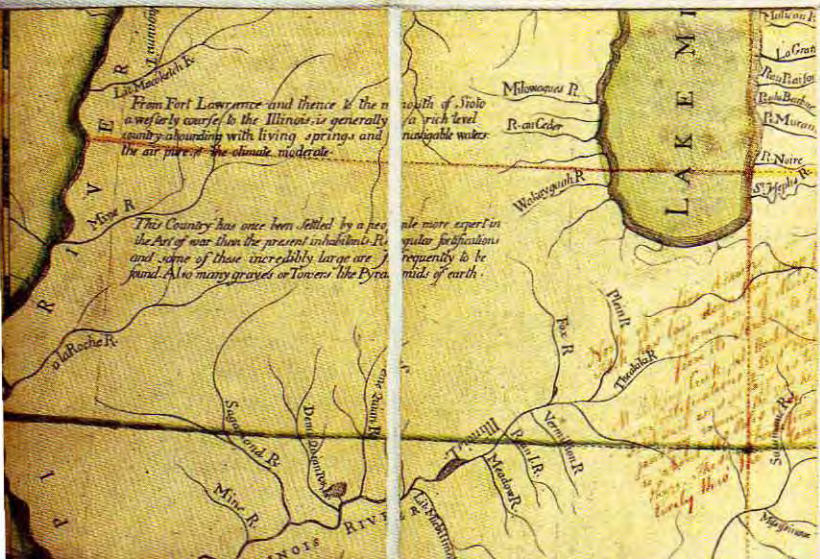
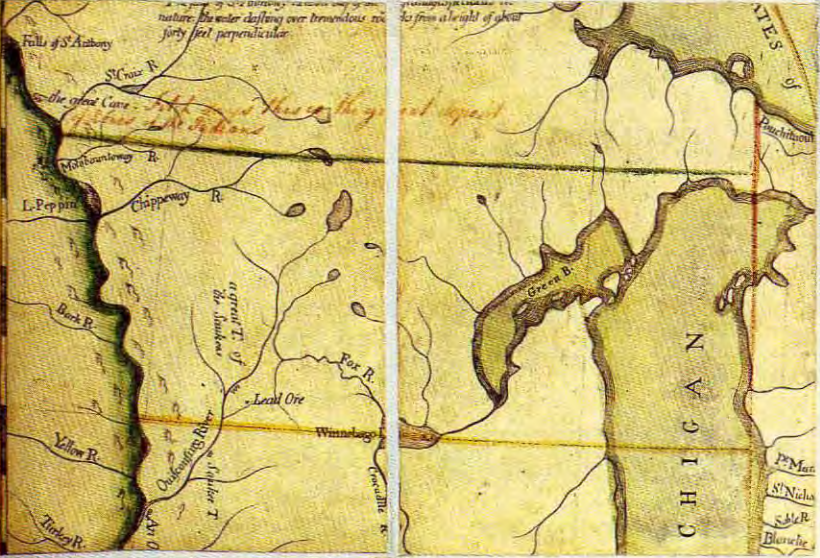
A MAP
of the north west parts of
the UNITED STATES
of AMERICA

The several divisions on the
Map of the Ohio is the form which
the Country is to be laid off into
States according to an ordinance of
Congress of May the 20th 1783

The author presents this to the public as the production of his leisure hours
and flatters himself that although it is not perfect few capital errors will be found
in it. He has not attempted to take the exact meanders of the Waters
but only their general course — In forming this Map
he acknowledges himself to have been indebted to the ingenious labours
of Thomas Hutchins and Willm Murray Esqrs
But from his own Surveys and observations he was led to hope he
could make considerable improvements on those and all that have gone before
him. Now for he has succeeded he now submits to the impartial public
by their very humble servant
John Trenchard

To Thos Hutchins Esq
Geographer to the United States
It is with the greatest diffidence I lay at
your feet every humble attempt to please a Public
to which you are so bright an ornament. I wish
it were more worthy your patronage. Unaccus-
tomed to the business of engraving, I could not render it
as pleasing to the eye as I would have wished —
But this as I flatter myself will be easily
forgiven by a Gentleman who knows how to
distinguish between form and Substance in
all things.
I have the honor to be
Sir your very humble Servant
Johns Hutch

SCALE of MILES
10 20 30 40
50 100 200



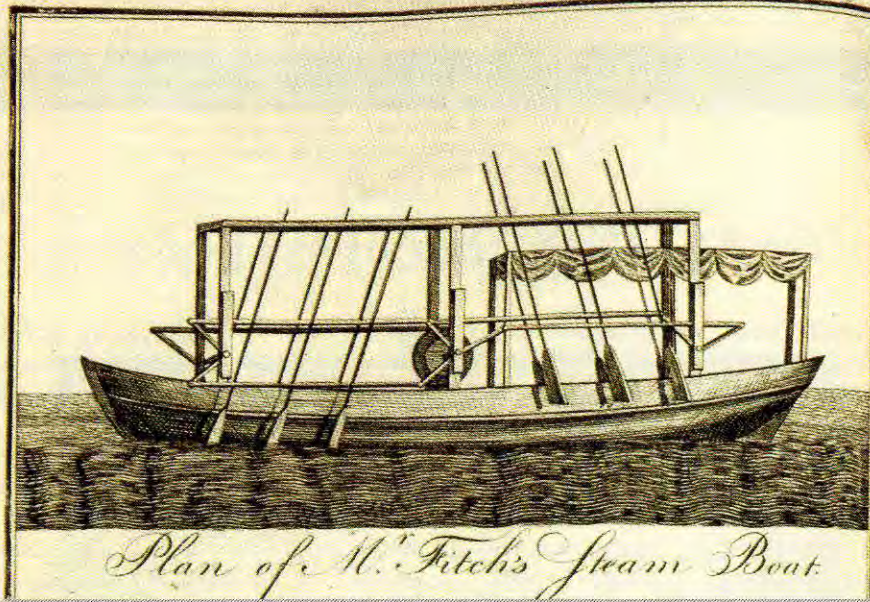
The Kentucky country is not so level as it is generally
represented to be but being a range of hilly land running thro
S.W. also very deep valleys on the large streams

served as deputy surveyor of Kentucky in the closing years of the American Revolution and had seen the southern parts of the region. Captured by Indians in 1782, he was carried to Detroit and eventually down the St. Lawrence River to freedom. Fitch drew on his personal observations

as well as published cartography, particularly maps of the interior of North America by Thomas Hutchins (1730–89) and William McMurray (fl. 1784). To his credit, Fitch acknowledged his sources but also stated his belief that “his own Surveys and observations... could make considerable improvements on those and all that had gone before.”

The cartographer’s reliance on earlier sources is apparent—details such as imaginary islands in Lake Superior that had first appeared on French maps in the 1740s. The reasonably correct outline of Michigan’s Lower Peninsula is reminiscent of renderings produced by Hutchins in the 1760s. Printed notations in the western Upper Peninsula (near a pitifully stubby Keweenaw) record the presence of copper and describe the spectacle of the Falls of St. Anthony. South of the lakes, however, the notations seem more likely to have been based on Fitch’s own observations. Several describe the quality of the land, details of interest to potential settlers. The extended description of Niagara Falls and its gorge likely relates to the author’s return from Detroit in 1782.

One very contemporary feature of John Fitch’s map was its representation of the proposed division of the region into future states, a feature he copied from William McMurray’s 1784 map. Heavily influenced by the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, these boundaries seem almost



An illustration and description of one of Fitch’s novel steamboat designs appeared in the *Columbian Magazine* of December 1786.

arbitrarily drawn, with little regard for natural features. None bear the fanciful names proposed by the future president.

The Clements Library copy of the Fitch map includes a few unique details that set it apart from other examples and tell us a bit more about what the cartographer had seen and how he might have planned to convey additional information in future editions. Seven manuscript notations appear at different points, varying from a few words to a paragraph written across northern Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. This last begins by informing us: “North of a Line drawn from the Illinois [River] to Detroit Fitch has laid down this Map from other Maps or Information of others.” Below that point, it adds, he had surveyed the Ohio River from its source to the Muskingum River. Along the way, Fitch observed impressive earthen fortifications and burial mounds con-

writings report that mammoth bones had been found near Bluestone Creek in Virginia. Another tells us that Kentucky “wants water in dry seasons.”

Who added these additional, largely practical comments and for what reason? Five of the notes cite Fitch as their source, such as, “Fitch says this is the great deposit of Bones of the Indians” near “the great Cave” on the Mississippi River just below the Falls of St. Anthony. Were they added at the cartographer’s direction or by an early owner of the map who had access to information provided by Fitch? Written in much the same style as the engraved notes, these additions suggest the possibility that Fitch anticipated making revisions for a later version of his map. Sadly, this was not to be the case, and the 1785 map of the Old Northwest was never the commercial success its author had hoped for.

Not long after the notes were added, someone dissected the map and affixed it to linen to make it easier to fold and store in a slipcase. A handwritten label was pasted to the case giving the title of the map and crediting its author. The map has been kept in that fashion ever since and will remain so until a new archival box is completed for this latest treasure of the Clements Library.

— Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Curator of Maps and
Head of Research &
Publications

A later hand augmented Fitch’s comment on the quality of lands along the Lake Erie coast of northern Ohio to note the presence of significant deposits of coal.



OF BATEAUX AND BEAVER SKINS

When John Porteous arrived in America from Scotland in 1762, he entered a relentlessly competitive fur-trading market that extended from England to Albany, north and west to Montréal and Detroit, and north into central Canada. Porteous was hired in the fall of 1764 as a clerk by John Duncan, who had organized his own business in Schenectady in 1761. Duncan's first associates were Walter Rutherford of New York and Peter Van Brugh Livingston. They selected the Niagara Portage for their frontier *entrepôt*, where they built a storehouse and hired James Sterling to manage it. When territorial disputes compelled them to look elsewhere for their western headquarters, they sent Sterling to Detroit, a small settlement of less than one thousand people, most of them French.

John Duncan entered into an agreement with Porteous in March 1765, whereby Porteous would work for Sterling in Detroit and set up trade at Michilimackinac in return for one quarter of the profits. Sterling procured the goods and sent them up to Porteous, who sold them, collected debts, extend-

ed credit, and procured furs. At this time, James Phyn joined Duncan in business, as did Alexander Ellice, both of whom supplied much needed capital. When Duncan left the firm in 1767, the partnership was reorganized as Phyn and Ellice. Under a new arrangement, Sterling and Porteous formed their own alliance in Detroit but remained affiliated with Phyn and Ellice, with whom they regularly conducted business.

The hub of operations was Schenectady, New York, where the firm built a storehouse. The company ordered trade goods on credit from New York and Britain and stored them until spring, when they were shipped to the frontier posts. Phyn and Ellice used the customary trade route to the interior: goods from their storehouse—rum, tobacco, sugar, dry goods—were loaded on boats to go up the Mohawk River to Lake Oneida and Oswego, then along Lake Ontario to the Niagara River. The traders had to portage around Niagara Falls to boats that took them across Lake Erie to Detroit and, from there, up Lake Huron to Michilimackinac.

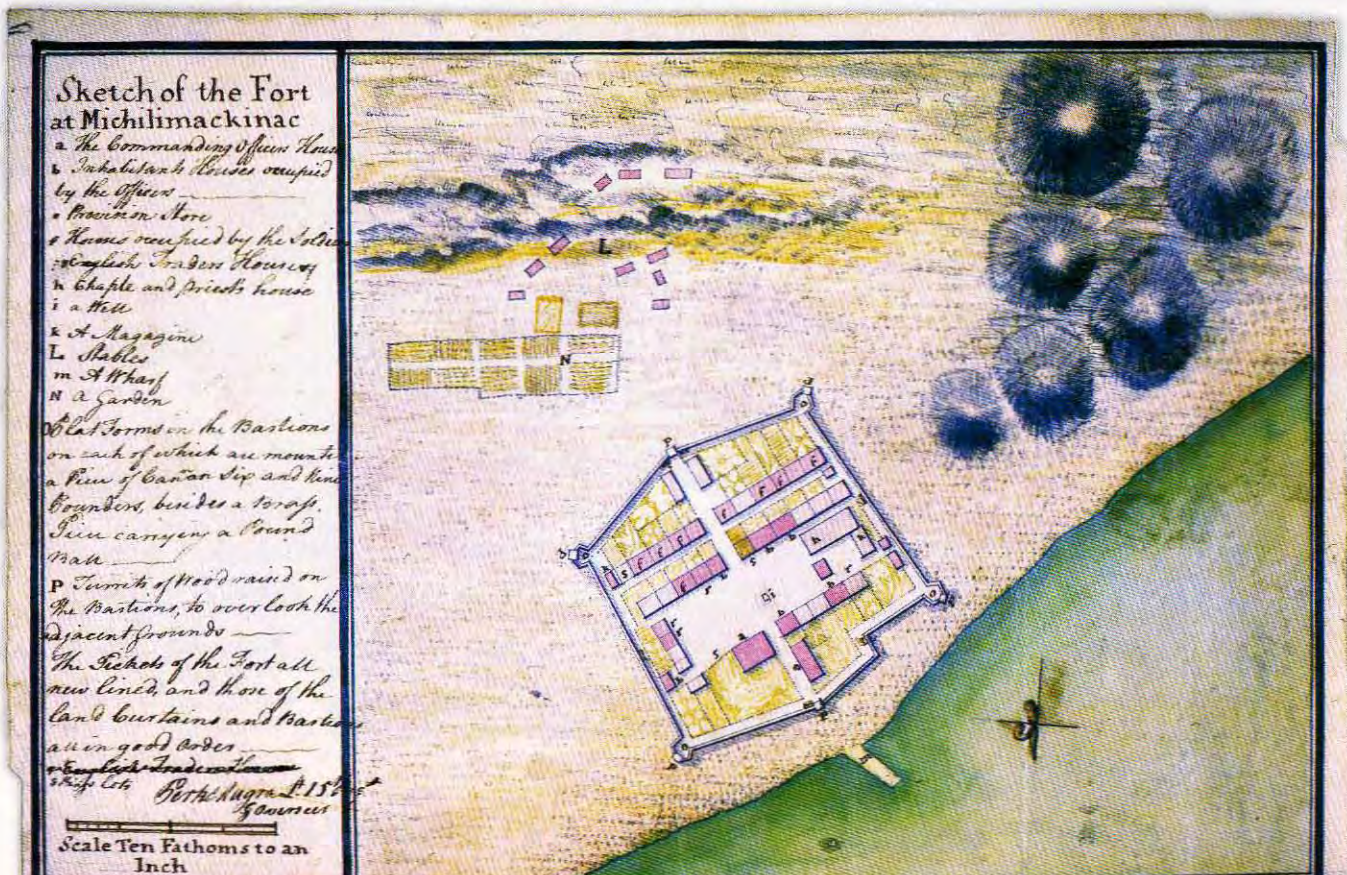
The return trip was much the same, depending on wind and weather

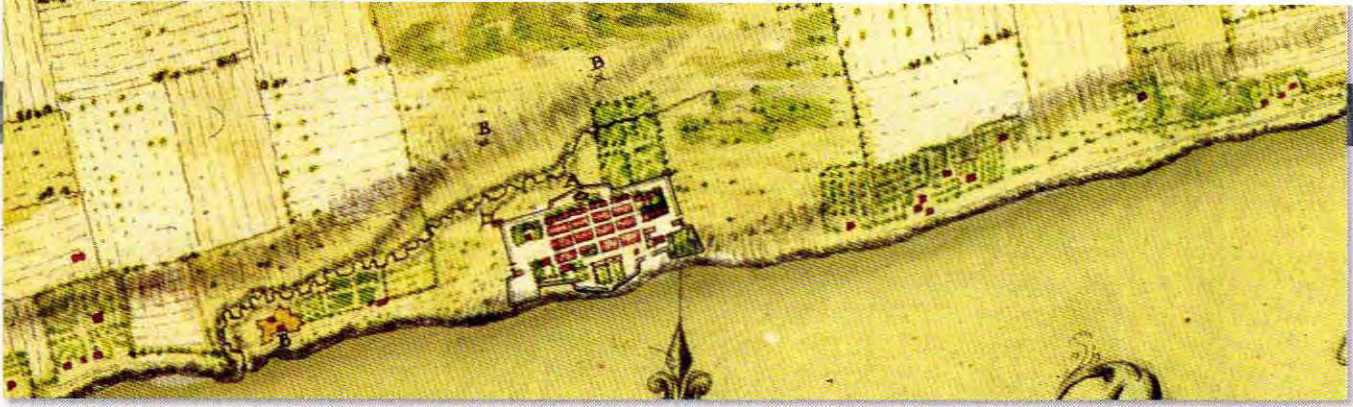
or calamity. Packs of furs, unsold goods, and Indian curiosities were loaded into the returning bateaux that followed the same route in reverse. An agent usually attended each shipment and often took monetary drafts and notes to settle accounts in Detroit or Schenectady. The furs were sold to pay the merchants' debts or were sent directly as payment.

The John Porteous Letterbook (1767–69) is one of the Clements Library's newer acquisitions. It was purchased in part to complement the James Sterling Letterbook (1761–65), which the library has owned since 1931. Together they describe one small part of the larger operation of the Indian trade in the Old Northwest and parts of Canada and New York during the 1760s, just after the British defeat of the French in Canada during the French and Indian War. Porteous's letters are filled with the minutiae of running the trade from Michilimackinac: cash flow, debts, fur shipments, relations with traders, gluts, wages, employment, and seasonality.

The letterbook contains 90 retained copies of letters to Porteous's business associates, most of which he

Michilimackinac was the gateway to the western fur trade and an important business location for John Porteous. Lieutenant Perkins Magra's plan, from the Thomas Gage Papers, shows the place as it was in the summer of 1765.





The Detroit settlement was centered around a fortified village on the north bank of the river. By the mid-1760s most English-speaking traders had their stores and houses within the stockade, while Francophone farmers dominated the countryside. This detail is from John Montresor's map of 1764.

wrote to James Sterling (22), John Duncan (10), Robert and Alexander Ellice (13), and James Phyn (5). The first letter of March 8, 1767, was written from Schenectady, where Porteous was settling company affairs before heading off to Michilimackinac for the season. The frozen river detained him until May, when he set out on a boat "deep loaded" with goods.

Porteous arrived on June 6, to find that most the traders who had wintered among the Indians had not yet arrived. He bemoaned the fact that "severls are already gon & preparing to go out amongst the Indians... & will quite ruin the tread here this Season." Until 1766, trade had been restricted to the frontier posts, such as Michilimackinac. But these regulations were lifted in 1766, which enabled operators to travel to Indian villages and hunting grounds. The change in policy meant that just about anyone with a boat load of goods to sell could go out among the Indians and barter, which caused fierce competition, a scarcity of labor, and lower prices. It also meant that Porteous's role changed from trader to a supplier of traders. Porteous and other established businessmen protested the removal of these restrictions, as it made it much harder to dispose of their goods and to compete for furs and Indian curiosities.

The 1767 summer trading season was difficult for Porteous. He was not very successful in collecting debts. One trader was robbed by the Indians and could not pay for his goods until the following summer. Also, no civil authority existed to act as a deterrent for debtors. Porteous had to "coax or importune," and be patient, as "complaints

against debtors maks but little head in our Government."

Furs were hard to procure and labor was expensive—men at Michilimackinac asked "exhorbitant" wages. Of all the traders who went out to Indian villages during the winter, only a few made a profit after paying their men and charges. The demand for labor was so great that Porteous could not find an honest man to help him. He begged Sterling to send him "four good Canadians bound," but Sterling was not able to send the men until the middle of August, when it was too late. The lack of reliable help caused him a great deal of "trouble and pains" getting furs, though he did manage to find fifty-six packs to send back to Schenectady, with the hope that this would be enough to pay the company's debts.

Porteous spent the winter in Detroit, where he filled his leisure hours hunting "in the Indian way," and ordered goods for the spring. In December, news of the murder of an English trader by Indians at the post of St. Joseph sparked fear of a "general disturbance," which lasted throughout the spring. Porteous was back in

Michilimackinac in May 1768, at the start of what turned out to be a good season. He had sold all his goods by the end of July, had sent 97 packs of furs and 63 bearskins to Phyn and Ellice, and was ready to leave.

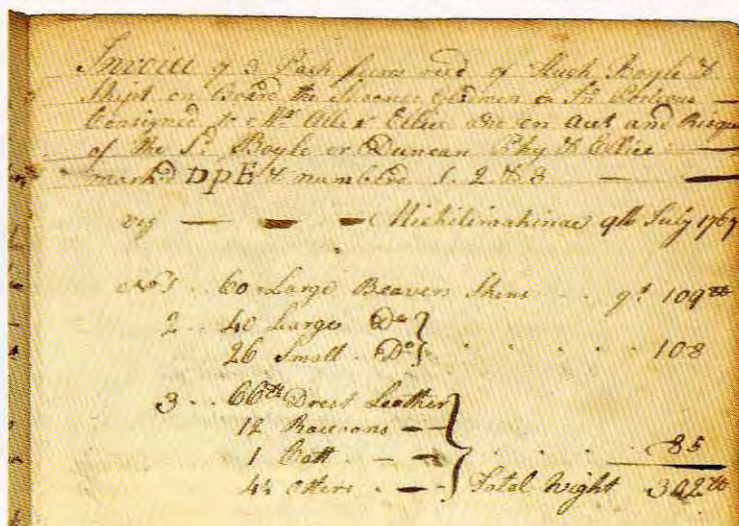
The letters for the end of 1768 and 1769 are few. The last was dated November 1, 1769, eight months after Porteous was added to the firm as a full partner. His work carried on seamlessly, and he was given the responsibility of administering business in Detroit and Michilimackinac. The partnership of Phyn, Ellice, and Porteous continued until 1774, when it was dissolved.

Manuscript collections are very rarely complete in themselves, no matter how large they are. A researcher always has to link them to other primary sources and then fill in the gaps of established knowledge. The John Porteous Letterbook is a mere digit in the annals of American history. But added to the Sterling Letterbook, correspondence from the commandants of Detroit and Michilimackinac in the Thomas Gage Papers, other Porteous materials at the Burton Historical Collection

and the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, and the Phyn and Ellice Letterbooks, also at Buffalo, we see the full dimension of a major fur trading company's organization—the financial arrangements, the Indian trade, the routes, and the merchandise. On this stage, Porteous becomes a major player, as each letter or invoice has a role in fitting the pieces of history together.

— Barbara DeWolfe
Curator of
Manuscripts

The contents and weight of three large packs of Porteous's furs are recorded in this 1767 invoice copied into his letterbook. The heavy bundles would be portaged several times on their journey to Schenectady and New York.





In 1804 Edward Walsh took a view of U.S.-held Fort Niagara as seen from the wharf at Navy Hall below Fort George. It is possible that the artist depicted himself as the red-coated figure leaning on a walking stick.

A SURGEON'S VIEW OF THE WEST

One way to measure a continent is with a surveyor's chain. Another is to capture the sense of the place through images. Prior to photography, precise rendering of the landscape with pencil and watercolor was a skill expected of military officers. To British regimental surgeon Edward Walsh (1756–1832), artistic training meshed with poetic and scientific interests common to the educated gentleman-soldier of his era. While in North America, Walsh created pictures that have a unique documentary and artistic value to the scholarship of what was then considered the Northwest.

As an artist, Walsh wasn't a Benjamin West. His images were never intended to be allegories of imperial power, like West's "The Death of General Wolfe." Instead, Walsh depicted control over North America by carefully documenting key positions that defined the imperial foothold on Upper Canada. But his views are not just cold topographical statements. His sketches (done on the spot as opposed to in a distant studio) also communicate his personal involvement with these places, ongoing relationships with the native population, and a great interest in the natural world.

Edward Walsh was born in County Waterford, Ireland, the son of a merchant. He had literary aspirations

and published some of his poetry in *Bagatelles, or Poetical Sketches by E. Walsh M.D. in 1793*. His verse took a political turn with "Progress of Despotism," a poem, dedicated to Whig politician Charles James Fox, on how the lust for power tainted the ideals of the Enlightenment. Walsh studied medicine at Glasgow and Edinburgh. As a student, he was known to have sketched portraits of faculty and scenery. His view of "Castle Rock" on Calton Hill accented a landscape profile that was said to resemble a distinguished gentleman's face. Years later, it was determined that the likeness was to Lord Horatio Nelson. This divine occurrence was cause for the publication of Walsh's view as a part of the print series, "Ackermann's Repository."

Walsh's career took him to many of the military hotspots of his time. After service on a West Indies packet, he entered the army in 1797 as an assistant surgeon. He experienced action during the 1798 Irish Rebellion and a hair-raising landing with the Holland expedition of 1799, which nearly cost him his life. In 1801, Walsh's 49th Regiment of Foot provided the marine detachment aboard H.M.S. *Ganges* during Nelson's attack on Copenhagen. A nearby explosion shattered Walsh's hand during the battle.

It was likely with a sense of relief that, in 1802, Walsh was stationed to the Niagara region of Canada, where service was described as "double allowance and nothing to do." He was inquisitive and observant and found plenty to do as surgeon to the 49th Regiment at Fort George. Walsh became quite enamored with North America and its native people. He went to great lengths to gather information on their character, language, music, crafts, and rituals. He took particular interest in the parallels he saw between native rituals and Judaism and added to the speculation that Native Americans were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. Walsh collected native artifacts and narratives. Additionally, he took extensive notes on the botany, geography, and mineralogy of North America. As a measure of his interest and determination, there is, in Library and Archives Canada, a survey letter from Walsh titled "Subjects on which I wish to be informed" with a four-page list of ethnographic and natural science questions directed to fellow officers.

Walsh assembled a menagerie of woodland mammals, birds, and reptiles at Fort George. His watercolors include detailed sketches of wildlife. Driven by official policy, or by humanitarianism, he reportedly carried out vaccinations for smallpox among the Indians of the Grand River near Lake

Erie. In exchange, he was initiated as "Conjurer" in a long, grueling ritual rarely seen by Europeans and involving a dog sacrifice, smoke inhalation, and a shaman who anointed the doctor by spitting in his ear. Walsh associated with Native American leaders Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) and Tecumseh and testified before a tribal council as a character witness in defense of Brant. In 1804 Walsh traveled as far as Sault Ste. Marie, sketching along the way. Dated watercolors of Fort Erie, York, Detroit, Joseph Brant's home, Fort Chippawa, Fort St. Joseph, and Sault Ste. Marie suggest an extensive tour of Upper Canada.

It was Edward Walsh's intent to publish a natural history of Canada from his accumulated information. The notes for this project survive at Library and Archives Canada. His watercolors could have been the basis for an impressive set of engraved illustrations. Sadly, this project was never completed.

After his placid assignment in America, Walsh was back in the thick of the Napoleonic Wars with the

Walcheren expedition of 1809. As staff physician with the 6th Dragoon Guards, he was involved in action during the Peninsular War of 1807-14. He was present at Waterloo in 1815 with the Army Medical Department. Late in his military career, Walsh was appointed President of the Ostend Medical Board.

The Napoleonic Wars provided an opportunity for active art acquisition by the victors, and Walsh loved Flemish painting. He was apparently foiled in an attempt to "import" from the Continent large Rubens and Van Dyke canvases rolled in his medical chests. He was reported to have had a peaceful retirement in Ireland. One can imagine Walsh entertaining family and friends with his recollections, supported by his beautiful watercolors. Edward Walsh died in Dublin in 1832.

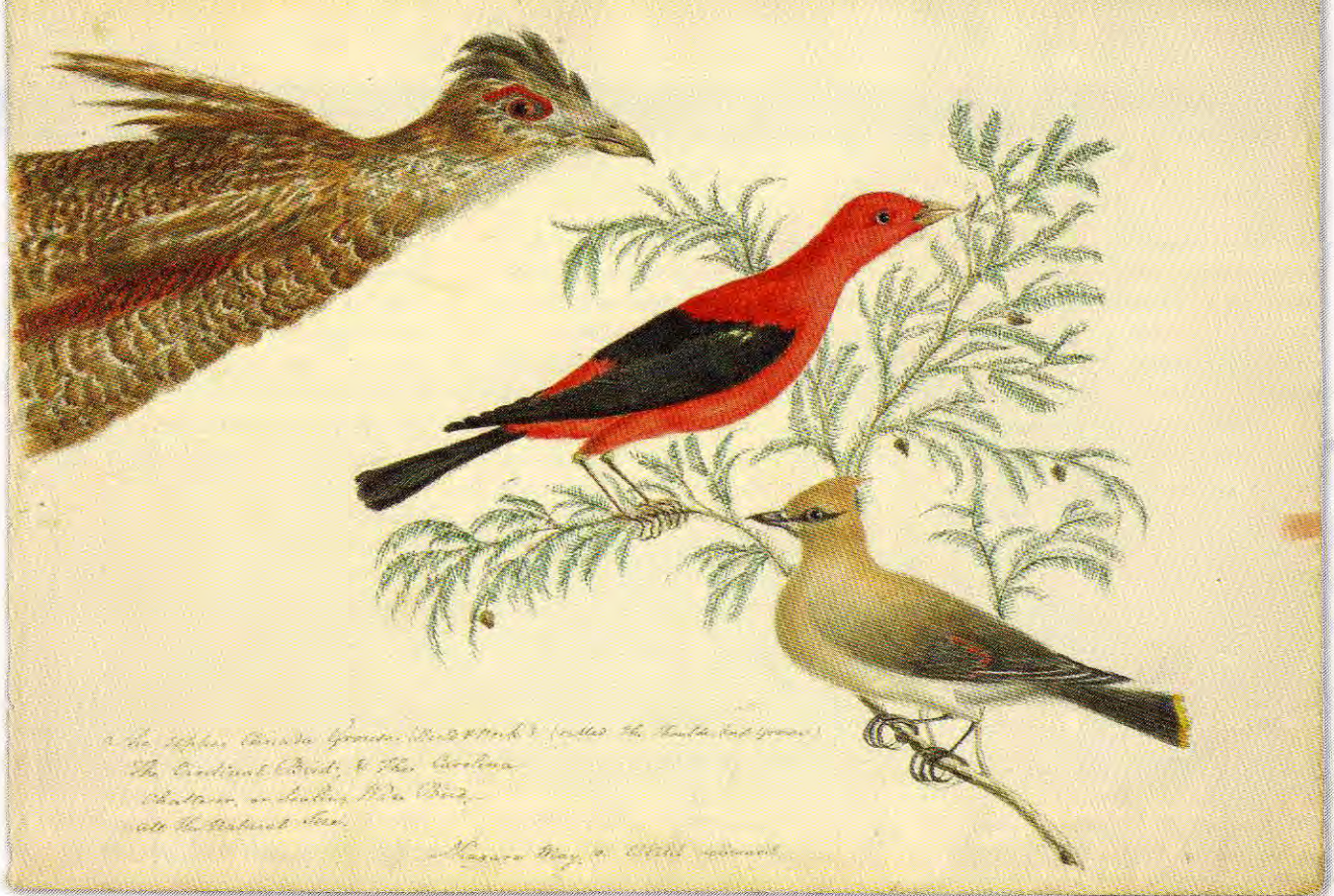
Over two hundred years have passed since the creation of the prized set of Walsh's watercolors now at the Clements Library. The Clements has always sought out visual materials with historic content. Walsh's sketches are unique depictions of key British points

of control in the wilderness of the Great Lakes. Many of the sites he illustrated continue to be important. Historians and restorers of historic sites frequently consult Walsh's meticulous details of uniforms and architecture. This documentation alone is invaluable, but Walsh gives us more. Through his artistic sensibilities he communicates a sense of wonder about the natural world. Walsh depicted the British military presence as synchronistic to this world and its native community. The pace of life is leisurely, with plenty of time to observe.

Typical of military artists trained to record topography, drawing people was not Walsh's strength. Yet the figures in his watercolors play an important role as surrogate viewers who bring us into the space and mood of the landscape. From their point of view, we share the light breeze that ripples the flags, smell the nearby forests and lakes, and feel the warmth of the sunlight. It is likely that Walsh depicted himself in several of his views. His native friends are frequently present, portrayed with a status that may not be quite equal to that

Sault Ste. Marie, where Walsh composed "A View of the Falls (rapids) of St. Mary," marks the farthest point of the artist's 1804 foray into the upper Great Lakes. The foreground includes several Native Americans.





Although best known for his renderings of military posts and topography, Edward Walsh was also an ornithologist who documented some of the birds of the Great Lakes. These three are today known as the Canada grouse, scarlet tanager, and cedar waxwing.

of the soldier-doctor-artist, but certainly in a position of mutual respect within the shared world that Walsh acknowledged was once theirs. The sketches evoke complex relationships of the past in ways that the written word cannot.

At some point the Walsh watercolors were divided up. Examples similar to the Clements's drawings may be found in the collections of Library and Archives Canada and the Royal Ontario Museum.

Several of his watercolors were reproduced as prints from about 1811 to 1814 and are now missing. Those at the Clements surfaced in 1939 in a bound sketchbook in the hands of John Ward, a London antiquities dealer. Ward had failed to sell the sketches to Henry Ford and offered them to the Clements for \$1,000. This represented a very substantial sum at a time of very tight budgets. A loan from The Detroit Friends of the Clements Library, a precursor to the Clements Library Associates, made the

purchase possible. The history and provenance of the watercolors prior to 1939 is unknown, although there is evidence that a group of Walsh drawings was in the possession of Canadian historian and theologian Henry Scadding (1813–1901). It is possible that he once owned those now at the Clements.

Edward Walsh, depicted in this 1834 engraving from the Dublin University Magazine, vol. 3, no. 13. Courtesy, Kresge Library, Oakland University.



Walsh's views have a broad enough appeal to be marketable as reproductions, both in his time and ours. As a fundraising venture to repay the Detroit Friends, the Clements produced a limited edition of three hundred color, collotype facsimiles of the view of Detroit. The collotype process was the most accurate of its day and these facsimiles are often misidentified as original art.

Today, the combination of digital technology and offset lithography can produce replicas of even greater accuracy. Following on the success of the 1939 venture, all ten of the Clements's Walsh views will be published later this year as full size reproductions. No doubt, Edward Walsh would be quite thrilled that, two hundred years later, a multitude of admirers will be enjoying and learning from his creations.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials

SOLDIER-ARTIST OF THE OLD NORTHWEST

It was a treaty of peace that made the lands between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes a part of the United States of America in 1783. But the region, known to many as the “Old Northwest,” would enjoy precious little peace over the next dozen years. The agreement that ended the War for Independence drew the boundary line with Canada through the Great Lakes, abandoning the homelands of many Native American nations that had allied themselves with the British. Undeclared on the battlefield, these peoples were not inclined to surrender their lands quietly to the Americans.

The ensuing frontier war would occupy much of the small U. S. Army from the mid-1780s until the 1795 Treaty of Greenville ended hostilities. During this period of conflict, American soldiers constructed and guarded military posts along the Ohio River and on the routes leading to the centers of Indian resistance in the northern parts of modern Ohio and Indiana. Federal troops and local militia used these forts as bases to support major expeditions in 1790, 1791, and 1794. The first of these was unsuccessful, the second an absolute disaster, and the third resulted in Anthony Wayne’s victory at Fallen Timbers that set the stage for the Treaty of Greenville.

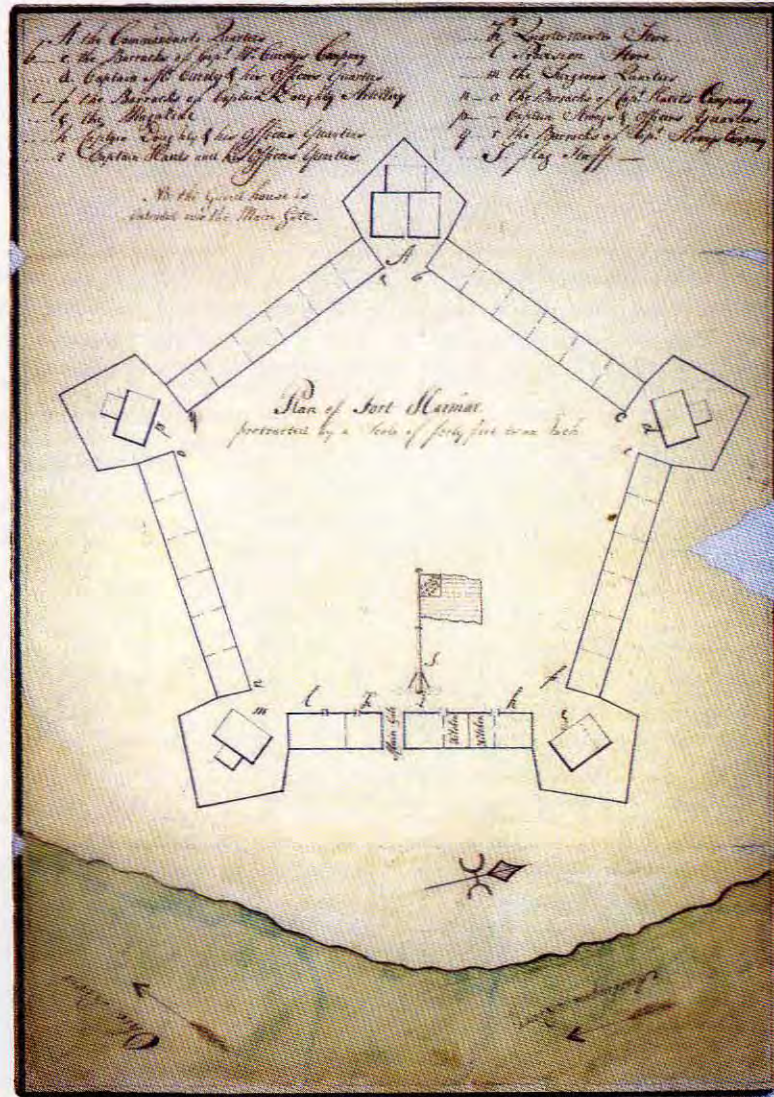
Documentation of all three campaigns can be found in Clements Library manuscript holdings, most notably the

Harmar, Wayne, and Old Northwest papers but in many smaller collections as well. As might be expected, military officers produced much of this written material in the course of their duties. Some left visual documents as well—topographical maps, plans of forts, and sketches of towns and military posts. Topographical drawing was a valued skill that allowed officers to record visual details for future reference or for use by their superiors. Experienced topographical artists were less common in the young U.S. Army than in the more established European forces.

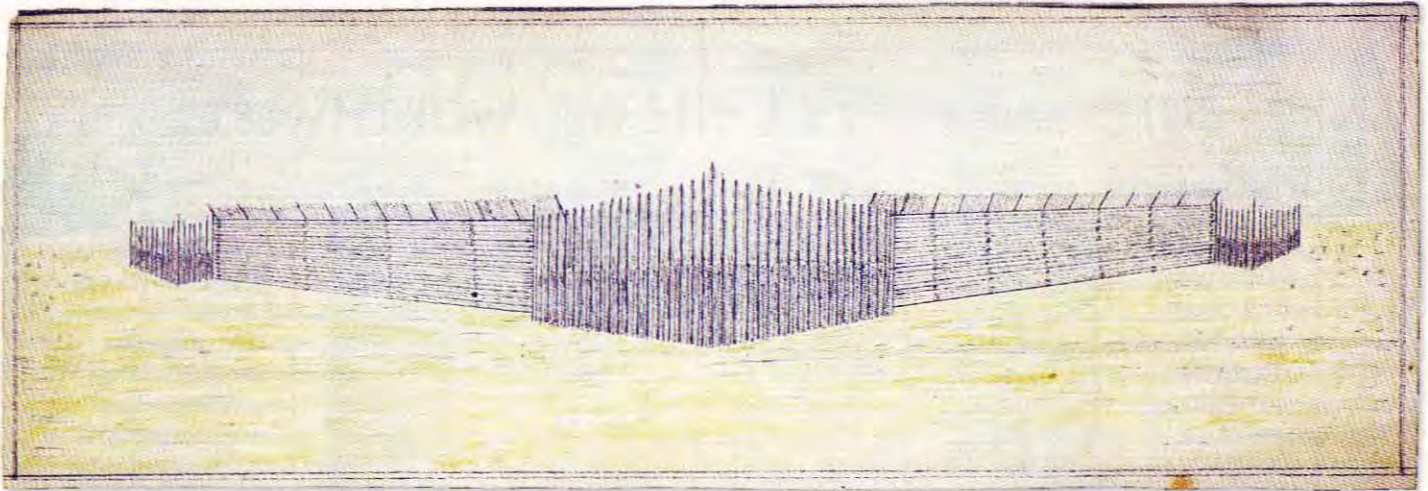
Fortunately, the army in the Old Northwest enjoyed the services of at least one talented officer-artist, and some of his work is preserved at the Clements Library.

Jonathan Heart (1748–91), like many of his fellow soldiers, was a veteran of the War for Independence. Originally from Connecticut, Heart volunteered in May 1775, soon after the outbreak of fighting. He obtained a Continental Army commission in January 1776 and thereafter served with Connecticut regiments until November 1783, reaching the rank of captain. After a brief hiatus, Heart resumed his military service and rank in June 1785 with the newly established federal army. He was soon in the Northwest, assisting in the construction of Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum River (Marietta, Ohio).

In 1786 he was at Fort Finney (opposite Louisville, Kentucky), and in April 1787 Heart was sent to establish Fort Franklin (Franklin, Pennsylvania) on the route from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie. He explored toward the lake in 1789 and then found himself at Fort Washington (near Cincinnati) in 1790 where he joined Colonel Josiah Harmar’s expedition against the Miami villages (today’s Fort Wayne, Indiana). In 1791 Heart marched with Arthur St. Clair’s doomed expedition against the Miami villages and was killed on November 4 when the army was surprised in camp by



This unsigned “Plan of Fort Harmar” is the finest and most detailed of several versions of a survey done in 1786. The handwriting is very similar to Heart’s, and the inclusion of the garrison flag is a technique he occasionally employed.



Fort Harmar is shown at ground level in this unique sketch centering on the tip of one of its five bastions. The back walls of horizontal-log barracks formed the "curtains" of the fort, while the bastions were made of vertical pickets. The lower parts of the picket walls were "lined" with shorter stakes to close gaps. The paper, border, and handwriting on the verso of this sketch match known works by Jonathan Heart.

Native American forces and routed with great loss of life.

Although Jonathan Heart's death at St. Clair's Defeat deprived later historians of his artistic talents during subsequent campaigns, the captain drew plans and views of some of the places he had seen before 1791. The Indiana Historical Society has a plan and drawings of Fort Finney, and the Cincinnati Historical Society owns a Heart view of Fort Washington. With the acquisition

of the papers of Josiah Harmar and by individual purchase of several pieces once belonging to James McHenry, the Clements Library obtained a number of plans and drawings prepared by Captain Heart for his superiors. Five of these document the construction of Fort Franklin in 1787-88. All are either signed or were associated with the artist's reports. Among several images depicting Fort Harmar is a detailed ground plan that appears to be by

Heart's hand. Even more typical of his work is an unsigned, colored sketch showing the fort from outside its walls.

Captain Heart, though hardly a great artist, was a fine observer and a precise draftsman whose work is as useful today for studying the forts of the Old Northwest as it was for informing his superiors in the 1780s and '90s. His series on Fort Franklin provides views, cross sections, and ground plans that clearly reveal the building techniques



A NORTH VIEW of FORT FRANKLIN on French Creek

Although in damaged condition, Jonathan Heart's view of Fort Franklin from the north is signed by the artist and is one of his nicest compositions. The ornamental trees close to the fort surely represent artistic license.

employed in the construction of wilderness fortifications. One of his drawings of Fort Finney even peeks through a gateway into the interior of the post, a perspective rarely depicted. Heart's view of Fort Harmar clearly shows how its five bastions were constructed and connected to the shed-roofed barracks that formed the "curtains" or outer walls. Heart provided details of the

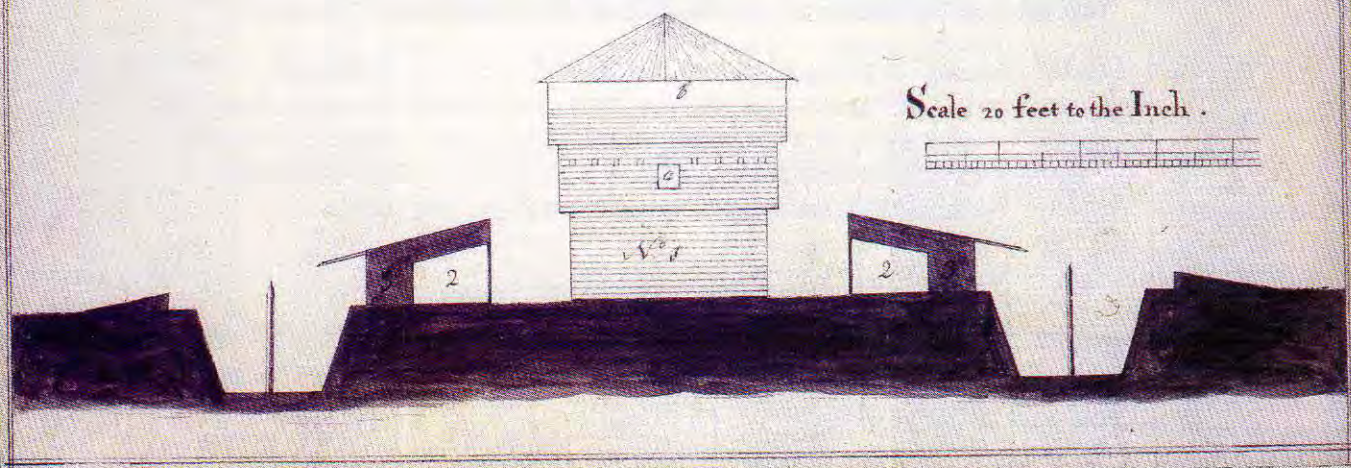
first took an interest in those on the east bank of the Muskingum River opposite Fort Harmar, and he mapped and described them for an article that appeared in the *Columbian Magazine* of May 1787. His "Plan of the Remains of Some Ancient Works on the Muskingum" carefully lays out what Heart took to be a fortified town with pyramids. He corresponded with

inconsistent, and carry more than the appearance of tradition," Heart found. Not content to map the earthworks and make inquiries, he opened at least one burial mound to find "bones in the natural position of a man" buried east and west with some isinglass on his breast." He was uncertain of the ancient people's connection to the Indians whom he was then fighting but dismissed the popular

A PROFILE of the WORKS on French Creek .

Explanation .

- N^o 1. Blockhouse, a six Pounder mounted in the 2^d. Story a Port Hole on each side as at a. b an opening on each side with hanging Shutter & loop holes in the Shutter. --- This Story is to serve as a Watch Tower as well as for Defence. ---
 N^o 2. 2. Bombproofs, covered with Logs & Earth. 3. 3. Walls of Earth faced with Logs.



Captain Heart was a respectable draftsman who prepared both views and ground plans of military posts. This cross section of Fort Franklin provides details of the blockhouse and the bombproof shelters that would have been useful in the event of a British attack from Lake Erie.

sort dear to any archaeologist or historic site researcher.

Although Jonathan Heart is best known today for his renderings of military posts, he also occupied himself with broader, antiquarian interests during his time in the Old Northwest. Americans entering the Ohio country in the 1780s encountered visible evidence of sophisticated, earlier societies in the form of earthen burial and effigy mounds and fortifications. Three such complexes are noted on the Clements copy of John Fitch's map of the Northwest. Heart

Benjamin Smith Barton on the subject early in 1791, and that letter was published posthumously in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* for 1793.

Heart was frustrated by his inability to learn more about these ancient Native Americans. He concluded that the earthworks had been "constructed by a people not only numerous, but well acquainted with the art of fortification and defence." Inquiries of the local Indians proved unhelpful, however. Their answers were "irregular and

notion that the mound builders were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. He attributed any similarities to the "coincidence of natural customs."

Captain Jonathan Heart, soldier-artist of the Old Northwest, left a graphic legacy through which we can picture some of the region's early military posts and learn a bit about its ancient monuments as well.

— Brian Leigh Dunnigan
 Curator of Maps and Head of
 Research & Publications

THE
AMERICAN
VINE-DRESSER'S GUIDE,
BEING A TREATISE
ON THE
CULTIVATION OF THE VINE,
AND
THE PROCESS OF WINE MAKING;
ADAPTED TO THE SOIL AND CLIMATE
OF THE
UNITED STATES:

BY JOHN JAMES DUFOUR,

FORMERLY OF SWISSERLAND, AND NOW AN AMERICAN CITIZEN,
CULTIVATOR OF THE VINE FROM HIS CHILDHOOD, AND FOR THE
LAST TWENTY FIVE YEARS, OCCUPIED IN THAT LINE OF
BUSINESS, FIRST IN KENTUCKY, AND NOW ON THE
BORDERS OF OHIO, NEAR VEVAY, INDIANA.

Then said the trees to the vine, come thou, and reign over us:
And the vine said unto them, should I leave my wine, which cheer-
eth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?

Judges, c. ix. 12 & 13 vs.

Cincinnati:

PRINTED BY S. J. BROWNE,
AT THE EMPORIUM OFFICE.

.....
1826.

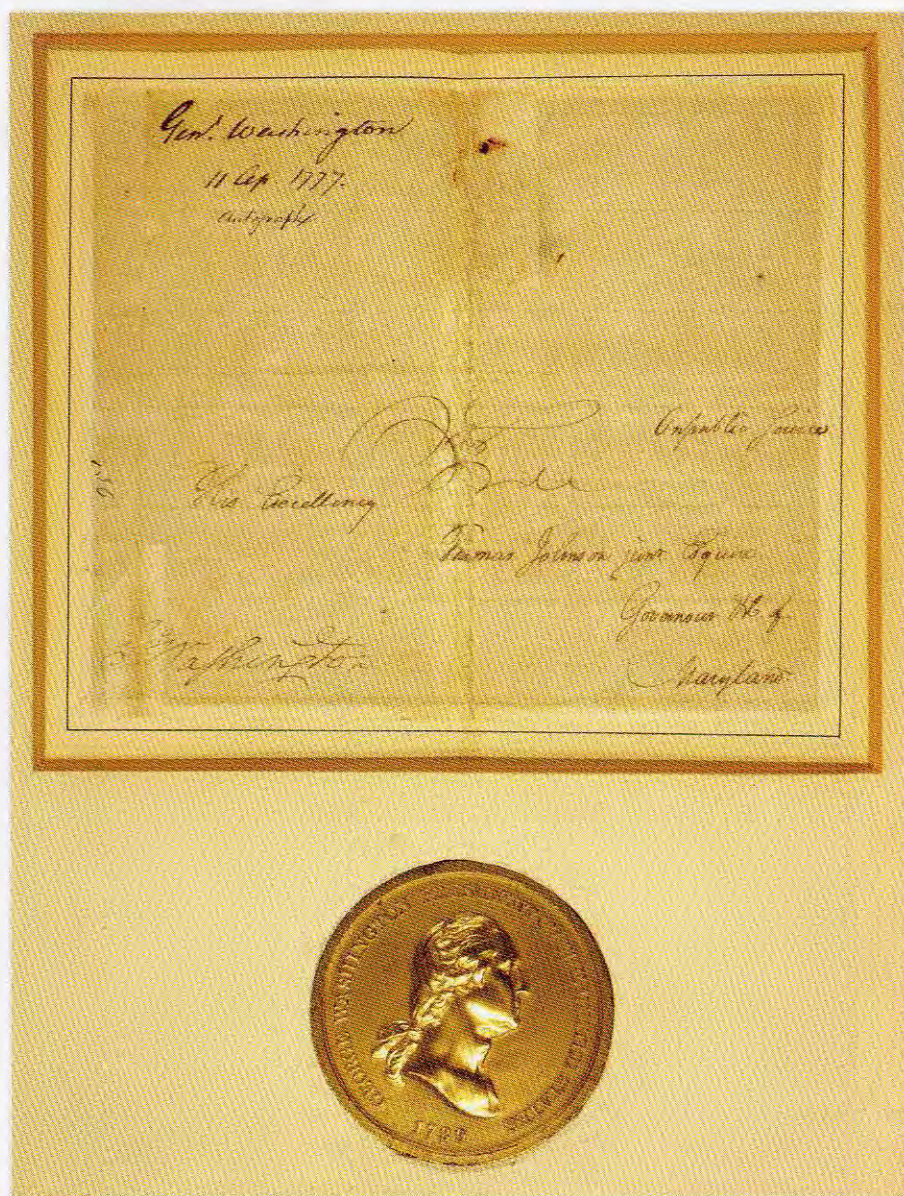
John James Dufour (1763–1827) was an immigrant from Vevey, Switzerland, who came to America in 1796, determined to produce a wine as great as his adoptive country. After an abortive start in Kentucky, he moved in 1802 to the newly created Indiana Territory and established a Swiss colony at what became Vevay, Switzerland County, Indiana. There he created one of the country's first successful commercial vineyards. It flourished for twenty-five years. Dufour's The American Vine-Dresser's Guide (Cincinnati, 1826) recounts that historic experiment in American viticulture.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

INTERIM DIRECTOR NAMED
Provost and Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs Teresa A. Sullivan has announced the appointment of Brian Leigh Dunnigan as Interim Director of the Clements Library. He will take on this responsibility following the retirement of John C. Dann on June 30. Brian has served as Curator of Maps since 1996. As Head of Research & Publications he also edits the *Quarto* and introduces new readers to the Library.

A WASHINGTON SIGNATURE AND MEDALLION
James Clements Wheat was the first Curator of Maps in the library named

for his uncle. Recently, three of his descendants of the Bosschieten family visited from the Netherlands to present the Library with some George Washington items once owned by their grandfather. The gift includes a "free-frank" address leaf dated April 11, 1777, signed by Washington and addressed to Thomas Johnson, member of the Continental Congress, first governor of Maryland, and justice of the Supreme Court. Framed with it is a medallion bearing the profile of the first president. The Bosschieten's gift adds to the Library's George Washington holdings and provides a visually appealing artifact for future exhibits.



PRICE FELLOWSHIPS

Each year the Clements Library awards a number of Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowships to promising young scholars. The funds are used for travel and expenses for a visit to Ann Arbor to consult the resources of the Library. Competition was particularly stiff this year, and we are pleased to announce nine recipients.

Dr. William H. Bergmann, Northern Michigan University, for his book, *Commerce and Arms: Defining the Western Economy During the Early Republic, 1776–1815*.

Dr. Tyler Boulware, West Virginia University, for his book, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation: Town, Regional, and National Identities Among Eighteenth-Century Cherokees*.

Erica Charters, University of Oxford, for her dissertation, "After the War: Disease and Demobilization in the British Empire, 1763–1776."

James C. David, The College of William & Mary, for his dissertation, "Dunmore's New World, 1770–1798."

Sean P. Harvey, The College of William & Mary, for his dissertation, "American Languages: Natives and Nation, Philology and Empire, 1783–1857."

Laura Keenan, University of Pennsylvania, for her dissertation, "The Shawnees in the Colonial Atlantic World."

Patrick Spero, University of Pennsylvania, for his dissertation, "From Contested Land to Commonwealth: The Transformation of Pennsylvania, 1730–1800."

James M. Vaughn, University of Chicago, for his dissertation, "Imperium in Imperio: The East India Company, Metropolitan Politics, and the Political Economy of British Imperialism, 1675–1775."

Heather Welland, University of Chicago, for her dissertation, "Investors and Improvers: British Imperialisms, 1713–1776."

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

March 26–June 1, 2007: Exhibit, “A to Z: An Alphabet of Regional and Ethnic Culinary Traditions.” Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.

May 18–20, 2007: Second Biennial Symposium on American Culinary History: Regional and Ethnic Traditions.

June 11–September 28, 2007: Exhibit, “Growth and Evolution of the Clements Library, 1903–2007.” Weekdays, 1:00–4:45 p.m.

June 11, 2007: Lecture by award-winning historian David McCullough. Rackham Auditorium, 4:00 p.m. Reception for Mr. McCullough and Clements Library Associates immediately following at the Library.



DAVID MCCULLOUGH TO SPEAK

Renowned historian David McCullough will visit Ann Arbor on June 11, 2007, to present a lecture honoring Clements Library director John C. Dann on the occasion of his retirement. McCullough is a gifted author and speaker, widely acclaimed as a “master of the art of narrative history” and as “a matchless writer.” He is twice winner of the National Book Award and twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize. His second Pulitzer was received in 2005 for *1776*, a book that drew on the collections of the Clements Library. A forthcoming, deluxe, illustrated edition will include a number of images and maps from the Library.

Mr. McCullough will speak at Rackham Auditorium at 4:00 p.m. His lecture is sponsored by the University of Michigan Office of the President, the Office of the Provost, and the Public Goods Council and is open to the public at no charge. A reception for Mr. McCullough and Clements Library Associates will follow at the Clements Library.



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Clements Library Associates share an interest in American history and a desire to ensure the continued growth of the Library's collections. Funds received from Associate memberships are used exclusively to purchase historical materials. Annual Membership Contributions: Student \$5, Donor \$40, Associate \$75, Patron \$100, Fellow \$250, Benefactor \$500, Contributor \$1000 and above.

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phone (734) 764-2347 • fax (734) 647-0716
email: clements.library@umich.edu
Internet: <http://www.clements.umich.edu>
Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Editor
Design, Blue Skies Studio
Kathleen Horn, Designer

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